

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ISO-00 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 TRSE-00

EB-11 DRC-01 AECE-00 /175 W
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P R 111142Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 936

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 10177

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF PARAGRAPH FIVE ONLY TO NATO
DEPARTMENT TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: NATO AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF DECEMBER
10, 1973

REF: A. VIENNA 10119 B. STATE 240801

1. SUMMARY. NATO AD HOC GROUP MET AT 1200 ON DECEMBER 10
UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF UK REP (ROSE). US REP DISTRIBUTED
REPORT OF BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH SOV REP (KHLESTOV) AND
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SOV DEP REP (SMIRNOVSKY) ON DECEMBER 7. (TEXT SEPTTEL NOTAL.)

UK REP DISTRIBUTED TEXT RELEVANT TO MBFR OF DOUGLAS-HUME/GROMYKO CONVERSATION IN MOSCOW ON DECEMBER 3-4 (TEXT IN PARA 2). AHG DISCUSSED AND AGREED ON ENGLISH AND GERMAN VERSIONS OF ALLIED STATEMENT TO BE DELIVERED BY FRG REP (BEHREND) IN DECEMBER 11 PLENARY. ONLY SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES MADE WERE TO DELETE REFERENCE TO HUNGARY (ON BASIS OF CABLE FROM SYG OFFICE CLARIFYING DECEMBER 6 SPC RECOMMENDATION AND TO DELETE, ON BASIS OF US REP INITIATIVE, SENTENCE DEALING WITH LINKAGE OF PHASES I AND II AND SENTENCE DEALING WITH EMPHASIS ON US/USSR (PER PARA. 4 STATE 24081 AND VIENNA 10119). END SUMMARY.

2. BILATERAL CONTACTS. US REP DISTRIBUTED TEXT OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH SOV REP (KHLESTOV) AND SOVIET DEP REP (SMIRNOVSKY). UK REP DISTRIBUTED SUMMARY OF SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HUME'S MBFR RELATED CONVERSATIONS WITH GROMYKO IN MOSCOW DURING DECEMBER 3-4 VISIT. BEGIN TEXT:

ON MBFR, SIR ALEX DOUGLAS-HUMES MADE THE USUAL POINTS ABOUT THE WARSAW PACT'S PREPONDERANCE IN MEN AND TANKS AND THEIR ADVANTAGES IN GEOGRAPHY. IN HIS REPLY, MR. GROMYKO WAS AT PAINS TO AVOID CONTROVERSY. HE MADE NO ATTEMPT TO REBUT SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HUME'S REMARKS ABOUT SOVIET MILITARY SUPERIORITY, NOR TO PROBE THE WESTERN POSITION. HE SAID THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE WESTERN IDEA OF "BALANCE." THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE WAS THAT NEITHER SIDE SHOULD SEEK UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE; NOT ALL THE WESTERN INTERVENTIONS IN VIENNA RECOGNIZED THIS. HE HOPED THAT THE WEST WOULD TAKE A MORE REALISTIC AND OBJECTIVE LOOK AT THE SOVIET PROPOSALS. BOTH SIDES WOULD NEED TO LOOK PATIENTLY FOR POINTS OF CONVERGENCE. SPEEDY AGREEMENT, THOUGH DESIRABLE, WAS HARDLY LIKELY. END TEXT.

3. ALLIED STATEMENT FOR DECEMBER 11 PLENARY. SYG ACTING REP (GUSSMAN) DISTRIBUTED TEXT OF TELEGRAM HE HAD RECEIVED FROM SYG OFFICE (KASTL) WITH CLARIFICATION RE QUESTION OF HUNGARY (VIENNA 10119, PARA 1) TO EFFECT THAT REFERENCE TO HUNGARIAN QUESTION WAS NOT REQUIRED AT THIS TIME AND MIGHT EVEN BE TACTICALLY DISADVANTAGEOUS. AHG AGREED TO DROP TEXT IN BRACKETS PARA 8.

4. DISCUSSION THEN FOCUSED ON PARAGRAPH 14 (OLD PARA 16 - VIENNA 10119). FRG REP (BEHREND) EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT PRESENT

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WORDING OF NEXT TO LAST SENTENCE WOULD LIMIT REDUCTIONS TO NON-US/NON-SOVIET FORCES IN PHASE II. FRG WISHED AVOID ANY IMPLICATION SOVIET FORCES MIGHT BE OMITTED IN SECOND PHASE. AFTER DISCUSSION, MINOR CHANGES WERE MADE IN SENTENCE TO SATISFACTION OF FRG REP. (SEE CHANGE IN PARA 5 BELOW). US REP RAISED POINTS IN PARA 4 STATE 240801 REGARDING TREATMENT IN DRAFT PRESENTATION OF LINKAGE QUESTION AND SPECIFICS ON HOW TO PROCEED AFTER CHRISTMAS BREAK. HE SAID IT APPEARED BETTER NOT TO MAKE THOSE

POINTS TO EAST UNTIL AFTER ALLIES HAD HAD OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT
ON THEM OVER HOLIDAYS. THEREFORE, TO PRESERVE MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY,
IT APPEARED SOUND TO DELETE LAST SENTENCE IN TEXT. FRG REP
SAID COULD

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ISO-00 AEC-11 AECE-00 IO-14

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

RECOMMENDATION TO DELETE LAST SENTENCE IN PARA 16 ONLY
WITH CONSIDERABLE RELUCTANCE. BONN LIKED THE SENTENCE. IT
DID NOT DO MORE THAN STATE THE OBVIOUS WITHOUT MAKING ANY
COMMITMENT TO EAST. MOREOVER, IT WAS ONLY NEW POINT IN SPEECH
TO MAINTAIN EAST'S INTEREST IN EXPLORING OF WESTERN TWO PHASE
APPROACH. CANADIAN ACTING REP (MORGAN) SAID HE DID NOT

OBJECT TO DELETION, BUT FOR PURPOSES OF REPORTING TO OTTAWA,
HE WOULD LIKE FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF REASONS. US REP EXPLAINED
THAT THESE SENTENCES MIGHT SIGNAL ALLIES' INTENT TO PUSH NEGOTIATIONS
IN THIS VEIN ON RESUMPTION OF TALKS IN JANUARY. WHILE ALLIES
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MIGHT WELL DECIDE TO DO SO, IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO DECIDE THIS
AT THIS JUNCTURE AND ALLIES SHOULD PROFIT FROM TIME IN CAPITALS
TO REFLECT ON ALL OTHER OPTIONS AVAILABLE BEFORE COMMITTING
SELVES. FRG REP SAID HE COULD ACCEPT DELETION OF LAST SENTENCE
OF 16 WITH RELUCTANCE IF IT WAS REALLY VIEW OF MAJORITY, BUT
HE ALSO THOUGHT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN GOOD FOR THE EAST TO PONDER
ON THESE QUESTIONS OVER THE HOLIDAYS. UK REP REPLIED THAT
EAST WAS ALREADY PONDERING THESE QUESTIONS. UK REP SAID HE COULD
LIVE WITH BOTH SENTENCES CONCERNED SINCE HE THOUGHT THIS
WAS THE WAY THINGS SHOULD GO, BUT HAD A MILD PREFERENCE FOR DELETION
OF THIS POINT AT PRESENT TO PERMIT FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE
ISSUES.

5. SPECIFIC CHANGES TO TEXT IN VIENNA 10119 FOLLOW. FOR CLARITY
IN LIGHT OF RENUMBERING OF PARAGRAPHS, CHANGES ARE KEYED
TO PARAS AND TEXT CITED:

A. IN PARA 8, DELETE FINAL BRACKETED SENTENCE READING
"IN THIS CONNECTION, AS IN OTHERS, THE QUESTION OF HOW AND
TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE DECISIONS,
AGREEMENTS AND MEASURES REMAINS TO BE EXAMINED AND DECIDED DURING
THE NEGOTIATIONS."

B. AT BEGINNING OF PARA 9, CHANGE TO READ "WITH REGARD TO
STABILIZING MEASURES, MY COLLEAGUES AND I WISH TO TABLE THE
FOLLOWING PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET AND
US GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF
THESE FORCES INTO THIS AREA ON WHICH WE WILL ADVANCE DETAILS
AT AN APPROPRIATE POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THESE PROPOSALS
ARE:"

C. PARA 14 (OLD PARA 16, VIENNA 10119) BEGINNING "WE
HAVE ACCORDINGLY PROPOSED....," DELETE LAST SENTENCE. CHANGE
PENULTIMATE SENTENCE TO READ "IN A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS
WHICH WOULD FOLLOW A SATISFACTORY PHASE I AGREEMENT, GROUND
FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE INCLUDED.

D. FINAL PARAGRAPH. DELETE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE.

6. AHG WILL MEET NEXT ON AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 11 TO DISCUSS
DRAFT ALLIES STATEMENT TO BE DELIVERED BY BELGIAN
REP ON DECEMBER 13. MOWINKEL

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